

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 6044

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS PINT SHUM YO SW
SUBJECT: POTPOURRI - INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

REF: A) BELGRADE 7012, OCT 27, 76 B) BELGRADE 4055

BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS POTPOURRI INCLUDES: SIGNS THAT GOY
CONTINUING TO APPLY INTERNAL CONTROL; AT SAME TIME THERE ARE
FAINT GLIMMERINGS OF RENEWED VIGOR IN THE ARTS AND OF A MORE
LIBERAL, HUMANISTIC APPROACH TO SOCIAL QUESTIONS. ADDING
FURTHER TO A COMPLEX, CONTRADICTIONARY INTERNAL SCENE ARE
DIFFERING REACTIONS TO KARDELJ'S SPEECH OF LAST JUNE. FIVE
YEARS AFTER THE LAST CLAMP-DOWN ON NATIONALISTIC, LIBERAL,
DOGMATIC AND OTHER DIVERGENT FORCES AND WITH PARTY CONGRESS
LESS THAN A YEAR AWAY, IT APPEARS THAT NATURAL POLITICAL JUICES
OF YUGOSLAVIA ARE BEGINNING TO FLOW ONCE AGAIN. WHAT IS
NOT CLEAR AT THIS POINT IS WHICH (IF ANY) OF THE VARIOUS
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STRANDS NOW RUNNING WILL PREVAIL. BUT A LOOK AT VOTING
BEHAVIOR OF YUGOSLAV EMIGRES IN SWEDEN MAY SAY SOMETHING
ABOUT THE LONGER-TERM FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. CONTINUING INTERNAL CONTROL. IN THE
PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE LCY,
THE SINGLE MOST CONSISTENTLY STRESSED POINT IS THE NEED FOR

GREATER "INVOLVEMENT" OF THE LCY AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. IT IS STILL UNCLEAR WHAT FORM THIS INCREASED INVOLVEMENT WILL TAKE, WHETHER IT WILL RESULT IN A MORE DIRECT PARTICIPATION BY THE PARTY THAN PRESENTLY EXISTS AND WHETHER THIS PARTICIPATION WILL BE MORE OF LESS DEMOCRATIC THAN IN THE PAST. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO APPLY INTERNAL CONTROL, AND THE SITUATION APPEARS LITTLE CHANGED FROM THAT REPORTED IN REF A. AMONG THE SIGNS SUPPORTING THIS CONCLUSION ARE: (A) LAST YEAR EMBASSY REPORTED ON "SUPPLEMENTARY REGULATIONS ON ACADEMICS' CONTACTS WITH FOREIGNERS." (REF A) WE NOW HAVE HEARD THAT IN RECENT MONTHS A NEW REGULATION HAS BEEN INTRODUCED, REQUIRING ALL EMPLOYEES OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS TO REPORT CONTACTS WITH FOREIGNERS BEFORE AND AFTER THEY OCCUR. (B) ACCORDING TO FEDERAL PROSECUTOR VUKO GOCETIC, 1,060 PERSONS WERE TRIED IN YUGOSLAVIA LAST YEAR FOR POLITICAL CRIMES, INCLUDING THE "MAJOR CHARGES" OF HOSTILE PROPAGANDA AND INCITING NATIONAL, RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS HATRED. THESE SERIOUS CRIMES ACCOUNT FOR ONLY 15 PERCENT OF INDICTMENTS. A RECENT EXAMPLE OF THIS KIND IS THE CASE OF NIKOLA NOVAKOVIC, WHO LAST MONTH WAS SENTENCED BY A SARAJEVO COURT TO 12 YEARS PRISON AND CONFISCATION OF ALL HIS PROPERTY FOR "HOSTILE PROPAGANDA AND ACTIVITIES HOSTILE TO YUGOSLAVIA." NOVAKOVIC WAS CONVICTED OF HAVING, ON BUSINESS TRIPS ABROAD FROM 1962 TO 1977, CONTACTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CROATIAN PEASANT PARTY AND PARTICIPATED IN ITS VARIOUS ANTI-YUGOSLAV ACTIVITIES. (C) AN AUSTRIAN DIPLOMAT WAS TOLD BY A WELL-CONNECTED SERB THAT THE PARTY IS STRONGER THAN EVER AND MORE INVOLVED AT EVERY LEVEL. HE ALSO NOTED THAT "BOTH KINDS OF POLICE" HAVE IN THE PAST YEAR BEEN ENTERING HOUSES WITHOUT THE LEGALLY REQUIRED JUDICIAL WARRANT, WHICH IN PREVIOUS YEARS THEY USUALLY DID TAKE THE TROUBLE TO OBTAIN. (D) SEVERAL YUGOSLAVS HAVE TOLD EMBOFFS IN PAST FEW MONTHS THAT THE PARTY IS EVERYWHERE, IS STRENGTHENING ITS ROLE, OR IS TRYING TO EXTEND ITS INFLUENCE INTO ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY.

2. PULA FESTIVAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE SOME VERY SLIGHT SIGNS THAT AMONG ARTISTS, INTELLECTUALS, AND JOURNALISTS THE NEED TO CONFORM IS LESS STRONGLY FELT THAN LAST YEAR OR AT ANY TIME SINCE 1971. THERE IS NEW VIGOR IN THE FILM INDUSTRY, AND A SLIGHTLY MORE HUMANISTIC, SYMPATHETIC APPROACH TO SOME OF YUGOSLAVIA'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS. THIS YEAR'S PULA FILM FESTIVAL HAS PRODUCED SEVERAL MORE CANDID FILMS ON BOTH CONTEMPORARY AND WARTIME SUBJECTS. CRITICAL REACTION HAS BEEN FAVORABLE AND UPBEAT. FOR EXAMPLE: THE YUGOSLAV FILM INDUSTRY IS NOW FOR THE

FIRST TIME "STANDING UP ON STRONG, HEALTHY LEGS," AND "THERE ARE SOME HEALTHY CHANGES OCCURRING IN OUR CULTURAL CLIMATE." SEVERAL COMMENTATORS HAVE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE FILM IS BECOMING MORE POPULAR, BETTER ORIENTED TOWARD ITS AUDIENCE, AND MAY EVEN SOME DAY CEASE TO BE A PARASITE WHOSE EXISTENCE DEPENDS ON SOCIAL SUBSIDIES. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN AN UNUSUAL LEVEL OF PRESS PLAY ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE CRITIC IN ART. SATIRIST FADIL HADZIC, IN AN INTERVIEW IN THE WEEKLY "NIN", NOTES THAT THE FRENCH FORMULA FOR POLITICAL SATIRE WOULD HAVE ONE SERIOUS DEFECT HERE: "FRENCH POLITICIANS CANNOT REMOVE THE CHIEF EDITOR OF LE CANARD ENCHAINE IF HE INJURES THEIR PERSONAL VANITY." THE YOUNG DIRECTOR OF ONE OF THIS YEAR'S PULA SCSSESSES OPTIMISTRICALLY STATES THAT THE "EMINENCES GRISES" CONFIDENTIAL

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WHO HAVE CONTROLLED ART IN THE PAST ARE TODAY LOSING "BATTLE AFTER BATTLE." THE PARTY WEEKLY "KOMUNIST" HAS NOT YET REACTED STRONGLY TO THIS KIND OF TALK, BUT ONLY DUBS THIS YEAR'S CROP "SUPERFICIAL", GRUMBLING THAT THEIR ACTION TAKES PLACE " IN A DISCO, A CAFE, BAR, OR AT A PARTY, BUT NOT ONCE IN A BASIC ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOR." (WHICH MAY SERVE TO EXPLAIN ITS POPULARITY.)

3. HUMAN RIGHTS. ANOTHER HOPEFUL IF FRAGMENTARY PIECE OF EVIDENCE IS THAT IN A MESSAGE TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID IN LAGOS, TITO TWICE USED THE TERM "HUMAN RIGHTS," TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THE FIRST TIME HE HAS DONE SO IN OTHER THAN A DISPARAGING OR SARCASTIC WAY. ONE YUGOSLAV INTELLECTUAL TOLD PAO THAT HE HOPES CARTER WILL STAY TOUGH ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND SALT WITH BREZHNEV. HE SAID THIS IS IMPORTANT TO THE INTERNAL SCENE HERE IN YUGOSLAVIA. SAME SOURCE NOTED THAT SPECIFIC ACCUSATIONS BY US AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA AT THE BELGRADE CSCE CONFERENCE WOULD BE BAD FOR INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION; SO FAR, USG POLICY HAS HAD BENEFICIAL RESULTS ON YUGOSLAVIA INTERNALLY. HE DESCRIBED LIBERAL INTELLECTUALS AS EUPHORIC, AND HOPED THEY WOULD NOT GO SO FAR AS TO PROVOKE A REACTION.

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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4. THE PLIGHT OF THE PRIVATE FARMER. YET ANOTHER GOOD SIGN IS THAT "POLITIKA" OF AUG 13 CARRIED A COMMENTARY UNUSUALLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE PEASANT FARMER. IT POINTS OUT THAT THE PEASANT "STILL FINDS PROOFS OF AN ATTITUDE TOWARD HIM COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO WHAT HAS BEEN PROCLAIMED." ARTICLE DETAILS DELAYS THAT PEASANTS HAVE EXPERIENCED IN TRYING TO SELL GRAIN; THAT PRIVATE PRODUCERS ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN FAVOR OF STATE FARMS; THAT IN SELLING HIS PRODUCE THE PEASANT IS OFTEN CHEATED BY PURCHASERS WHO OVERSTATE IMPURITIES OR DISCOUNT QUALITY IN ORDER TO PAY HIM A LOWER PRICE THAN AGREED UPON BY CONTRACT. WRITER POINTS OUT THE CONTRADICTION IN THIS SITUATION AND CONCLUDES THAT UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THE PEASANTS CAN HARDLY BE BLAMED FOR NOT JOINING COOPERATIVES AND ASSOCIATIONS. THE IDEA IS ECHOED IN A REPORT FROM KOSOVO SCOLDING FOOD PROCESSORS THERE FOR NOT COOPERATING WITH LOCAL PRIVATE FARMERS TO ENSURE SUFFICIENT SUPPLIES
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OF RAW MATERIAL. "THE FACTORY NOT ONLY GIVES NO GUARANTEES FOR PRICES, BUT INSISTS ON THE PRICES OF THE PRECEDING YEAR." THE RECENTLY PUBLISHED OFFICIAL VIEW OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FEDERATION OF COOPERATIVES IS THAT A PREVIOUSLY NOTED DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF COOPERATIVES HAS IN THE PAST YEAR BEEN ARRESTED AND TURNED AROUND, THOUGH IT GIVES NO COMPARATIVE FIGURES. BUT ONE PARTICIPANT IN A ROUND TABLE ON THIS SUBJECT SPONSORED BY THE PARTY WEEKLY KOMUNIST POINTED OUT THAT ONLY SIX OF THE 86 MEMBERS OF HIS COOPERATIVE EARN THEIR LIVING EXCLUSIVELY FROM AGRICULTURE -- THE REMAINDER

ARE "MIXED" HOUSEHOLDS. IN KOSOVO, THE LC REPORTED THAT THE NUMBER OF PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS COOPERATING WITH THE SOCIALIST SECTOR IS BARELY TWO PERCENT.

5. MEDIUM AND MESSAGE - KARDELJ'S ROLE. CHARACTERISTIC OF CONTRADICTORY STRANDS IN PRESENT DOMESTIC SITUATION ARE DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF KARDELJ'S ADDRESS TO THE LCY PRESIDUM. AS EXPECTED (REF B.), PEOPLE SEEM TO BE READING INTO THE KARDELJ SPEECH ANY INTERPRETATION THEY WANT. DOLANC ON THE DAY AFTER THE ADDRESS TOLD THE NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER THAT THE SPEECH MEANT THE LCY "WILL NOT DOMINATE." THIS VIEW IS SHARED BY A SOCIAL SCIENTIST OF LIBERAL BENT WHO TOLD POLCOUNDS HE THINKS KARDELJ, WHOM HE CHARACTERIZED AS THE "PRIME LIBERALIZER" IN YUGOSLAV UPPER ECHELONS, HAS CONVINCED TITO THAT FURTHER LIBERALIZATION IS POSSIBLE. ON THE OTHER HAND SVETOZAR STOJANOVIC, ONE OF THE BELGRADE EIGHT, TOLD THE AUSTRIAN COUNSELOR HERE THAT THE SPEECH ONLY USED LIBERAL WORDS TO MASK THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LCY'S ROLE IN ALL ASPECTS OF YUGOSLAV LIFE. ONE WELL INFORMED YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST DREW THESE CONFUSING, CONFLICTING STRANDS TOGETHER BY COMMENTING TO POLCOUNS THAT IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE PARTY CONGRESS AND WITH UNCERTAINTY

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ABOUT WHO WILL GET WHAT POSITIONS CREATING SOMETHING OF A VACUUM, VARIOUS FORCES ARE VYING FOR POWER AND BOTH "LIBERALS" AND "DOGMATISTS" ARE PRESSING THEIR POLICIES AND VIEWS. THUS THERE IS MORE THAN USUAL CONFUSION IN DEFINING THE "GENERAL LINE". HE BELIEVES IT STILL TOO EARLY TO TELL WHAT CONCRETE MEANING WILL BE GIVEN TO KARDELJ'S RATHER PHILOSOPHIC SPEECH AND BOOK -- THAT THEIR PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE WILL BE DETERMINED BY OUTCOME OF CURRENT STRUGGLE FOR POSITIONS AND INFLUENCE AS WELL AS KARDELJ'S OWN VERY EVIDENT DESIRE FOR GREATER DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY.

6. EDUCATION. THE ON-GOING DEBATE ABOUT EDUCATION IS A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF FLUX AND THE DIFFICULTY OF DEFINING AND IMPLEMENTING A GENERAL LINE. ONE SCHOOL OF THOUGHT FAVORS SO-CALLED "DIRECTED EDUCATION," THAT IS, THAT THE SYSTEM BE RATIONALIZED TO TRAIN ONLY ENOUGH SPECIALISTS TO FILL FUTURE SOCIAL NEEDS FOR EACH SKILL, AS DETERMINED BY SOCIAL PLANNERS IN ADVANCE AND THAT ELITE SCHOOLS LIKE GIMNAZIA BE ELIMINATED. ITS PROPONENTS CLAIM THIS IS A MORE MARXIST, ANTI-BOURGEOIS APPROACH. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ARGUMENT ARE MORE TRADITIONALIST TYPES WHO FEAR SUCH A SYSTEM IGNORES PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE FOR ITS OWN SAKE, WOULD IMPROVERISH LIBERAL ARTS, AND IN THE LONG RUN LOWER THE OVERALL QUALITY OF EDUCATION BY IN EFFECT ESTABLISHING A MINIMUM STANDARD BEYOND WHICH THERE

WOULD BE NO INCENTIVE TO STRIVE. THE LIBERALS ARE LARGELY BEHIND THIS VIEW. WHILE THE FIRST SCHOOL OF THOUGHT HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY ADOPTED, THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL RESISTANCE TO ITS IMPLEMENTATION AND THE LONG-TERM OUTCOME IS FAR FROM CLEAR.

7. GUEST WORKERS IN SWEDEN. OF SOME INTEREST FOR LONGER-TERM OUTCOME OF THIS DEBATE AND THUS FOR FUTURE OF YUGOSLAVIA ARE RESULTS WE HAVE OBTAINED RECENTLY FROM SWEDISH EMBASSY OF A VOTING STUDY CARRIED OUT BEFORE AND AFTER LAST MUNICIPAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS IN STOCKHOLM. STUDY CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPARES VOTING OF SWEDES TO THE VOTING OF FOREIGN NATIONALS OF TURKISH, FINNISH, POLISH AND YUGOSLAV ORIGIN WORKING IN STOCKHOLM. WHILE THE SURVEY OBVIOUSLY HAS ONLY LIMITED VALIDITY AS AN EXPRESSION OF PRESENT YUGOSLAV CONDITIONS, IT IS NEVERTHELESS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT IN ALL CATEGORIES, YUGOSLAVS HAD THE HIGHEST PREFERENCE FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTIES. AMONG "WORKERS," FOR EXAMPLE, 93 PERCENT OF YUGOSLAVS VOTED SOCIALIST COMPARED TO 69 PERCENT OF THE SWEDISH CONTROL GROUP. CONTRAST TO THE BEHAVIOR OF POLISH VOTERS STRIKING: 93 PERCENT OF YUGOSLAV WORKERS, AND 87 PERCENT OF OTHER OCCUPATIONS, FAVORED THE SOCIALIST PARTIES, WHILE THE CORRESPONDING FIGURES FOR POLES WERE 72 PERCENT AND 34 PERCENT RESPECTIVELY. AMONG YUGOSLAVS WHO BEFORE THE ELECTION EXPRESSED THEIR INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE BY VOTING, 94 PERCENT VOTED SOCIALIST. AMONG POLES THE FIGURE WAS 53 PERCENT. IN THE YUGOSLAV SAMPLE 89 PERCENT OF THOSE WITH LONG RESIDENCE IN SWEDEN AND A GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGE VOTED SOCIALIST, COMPARED TO ONLY 34 PERCENT OF POLES. BUT OF EQUAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THEIR STRONG PREFERENCE FOR SOCIALISM, IS THE YUGOSLAVS' STRONG DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN ITS DEMOCRATIC AND COMMUNIST VARIANTS. WHILE 93 PERCENT VOTED FOR THE "SOCIALIST" PARTIES INCLUDING COMMUNISTS, FEWER THAN 10 PERCENT VOTED FOR THE COMMUNISTS. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO PUSH YUGOSLAV PREFERENCE FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TOO FAR ON BASIS OF THIS SAMPLE, BUT IT IS TRUE THAT BOTH YUGOSLAV PARTY OFFICIALS AND MAN-IN-STREET BELIEVE SWEDEN WILL ACHIEVE THEIR IDEAL OF SELF-MANAGED, DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM BEFORE YUGOSLAVIA AND LONG BEFORE SOVIET UNION-- WHICH SOME HERE CLAIM IS NOT SOCIALIST AT ALL.

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